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(5) *Awatqaw aut*, "Labreted": the eastern continuation of the last mentioned.[1] The name is explained as follows:

One of the people who came to the earth in the beginning of time, *Tsiatwala* by name, travelled to the Skeena River, and there saw women wearing labrets. On his return to Bella Coola he settled at *Awatqaw aut* and carved on his totem-pole[2] the figure of a woman with an abalone-shell labret as a memorial of his voyage. Visitors coming to his potlatches named the town from this figure.

This was one of the largest towns in the valley.

[illegible](6) *Aimd ts*: a small town to the north of the last, not far from the *Pe nyls*. It is assumed that it was founded by a descendant of *Tsiatwala* named *Aimd ts*. The consensus of opinion is that it has not been occupied for many years, but one informant recently dug up a clay pipe on the alleged site.

"(7) *Skhiitl*, "What Has Been Divided": on the south shore of the Bella Coola River about a quarter of a mile from the sea. This village was founded by a certain Spill.

"(8) *Qwaqa ts*, meaning doubtful, perhaps "Salty": this, the most populous village of the valley in the recent past, is still inhabited by one or two families. The inhabitants of other towns explain its large population by marriages with slaves. This is the upper, or eastern, continuation of the preceding, and the two in combination formed a row of houses stretching for three-quarters of a mile (see Plate 9).

(9) *Gwaqdumq*, "The Treeless Place": on the north side of the Bella Coola, supposedly about half a mile above *Aimd ts*. This village was long ago deserted.

(10) *Tsaskwaaltqa ts*, "Where There Is Much *tsaskwaaltq*," a kind of hollow-stemmed plant: some distance from

[1] Several towns, each consisting of a single row of houses, are regarded as forming one village. In such cases there is no visible boundary mark.

[2] The Bella Coola believe that their early ancestors used totem-poles; repeated references to them will be made, even though the work of Barbeau and others on the totem-poles on the North West Coast indicates that the Bella Coola examples are not historically accurate.

[361] [173] [172] [62] [82] [567] [771]

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424 nearest answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the
979 Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the
825 narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience, and added that though he was quite willing to accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not
[582] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of exogamy.

211 Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet
424 they have some importance in the realm of social life. The
773 portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral
825 myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a
[532] design is impressed with the glories of the family history of
[550] the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of
[304] the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delineation is a memento of family history. For that reason a man is often tattooed[1] with his crest, that derived from his father's first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow. After the death of a chief a memorial-post is erected near his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his
000 family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

[1] It is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal tribes but also the Carriers. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated themselves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with puberrites; in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the bark-room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material; the second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were baked for a long time and then ground into a powder. This keeps indefinitely and can be made ready for use by mixing with water. As far as could be learnt, any skilled craftsman might perform the operation.
[171] [184] [384]

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614 773 A man may claim descent from as many as eight of these groups, that is, he may be a member of eight ancestral families. Some restrictive means must have been employed to limit the choice of marriage partners, otherwise a man's membership in ancestral families would have been far greater than it is. The explanation lies in the high regard with which the members of an ancestral family esteem the prerogatives they have received from their forbears. With the marriage of the first women, their brothers were called upon to share their rights, both practical in regard to hunting territory, and ceremonial with regard to dance prerogatives, with their sisters' children. Bella Coola mythology contains no references to unwillingness on the part of the first men to do this; in fact, their own children benefited equally from the marriages of their fathers with other women. But, say the Bella Coola, after these first marriages, necessarily exogamic, men realized that it would be foolish to allow their children to marry far afield and so diffuse valuable prerogatives. It was far wiser for a man to seek as future son-in-law a youth belonging to the same ancestral family as himself or his wife. Then any resultant children would come into this world provided by both parents with common relatives, so that the child would be, as they express it, "Held close and supported by a close circle of ancestors."

582 614 [773] Bella Coola logic does not explain how marriages could have been arranged in the early generations without violating the laws of incest. The endogamic principle displayed at that time, however, has been carried out until the present day, so that a man endeavours to arrange marriages for his children with members of the same ancestral family. One of the strongest Bella Coola desires is to "make good the path" for his offspring, and this can best be done when they are born amply provided with relatives of common ancestry. There is [769] no belief in the active participation of distant ancestors in the affairs of men, yet, though incapable of clear expression, the Bella Coola feel strongly that a child is born into the companionship of its deceased relatives back to the beginning of time.

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This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail in vol. I, chap. VII, but mention of it here has been necessary to explain the composition of the ancestral family. 582 [614]

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to marry foreign women in order that they, or their children, might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a trend towards exogamy has arisen from the same reason which is supposed to have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said that this practice was initiated by a certain *Puske*, father of a man about sixty years old in 1923. White influence probably had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its wide adoption has been made more easy by the establishment of peaceful conditions on the coast. [554] [177]

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestry, it is unlikely that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These are of two kinds: names and land. 614 554

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bella Coola nomenclature is that each name must have originated in connection with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable to apply a casual designation to a child. At a person's death his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were all given designations by *Alquntăm*; these have been carefully handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying 551 [428] [553] [773]

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lan in public opinion which expresses contempt for a lazy man who is constantly begging.

To anyone familiar with the definite social groupings of a tribe divided into clans or land-owning families, the ancestral family of the Bella Coola must appear as a vague and unreal unit, only distinguished by its intangibility. So it was found when investigating in the field. When information began to accumulate, it seemed as if there must be some definite obligations incumbent upon all members of the ancestral family, but none could be found. Without asking a direct question, the point was raised whether, if a man were killed, the members of his ancestral family would unite to avenge him. Conversely, were they liable for the deeds of any member? In each case the reply was in the negative; these matters concern only the immediate family. In regulating marriage the ancestral family is important, since it is wise for a man or woman to seek his mate within the members of that group, though it is not compulsory. Theoretically, the terms of kinship applied to members of the immediate family may be extended to members of the ancestral family, but in practice this is rarely the case, and, if so, is functionless. It might be argued that this somewhat wide application of kinship terms, verging on the classificatory usage, is a relic of an earlier, and now broken-down, clan system. It is impossible to prove or to deny such a contention. When trying to discover whether the members of an ancestral family ever contributed to a potlatch whereby one of their fellows established himself as a chief, the following interesting comment was received. The previous winter the informant had been in Bella Bella, and there the point was raised by a Bella Bella chief whom he quoted as follows:

"We laugh at you Bella Coola because each of you is always trying to be chief. Our system is much better; we all help our chiefs."

The man agreed with the Bella Bella man that there was an important difference between the practices of the two tribes.

[619] [621] is a more obvious social grouping than the ancestral family, though it is of the latter that a man is most proud. The member of a small, unimportant village often describes himself as a native of a neighbouring, larger one when at a distance from his home, simply as a matter of convenience.

Even before the coming of the white man, village sites were abandoned and people took up their residence with friends or relatives elsewhere. In fact, mythology contains instances of such migrations at the very beginning of time. In cases of this [773] [34] kind, memory of the earlier home has been preserved for many generations, and may perhaps be the explanation of the many villages which are described as two, and which have two names. In the early days immigrants were always to have been welcome; they added to the numerical strength of the village, and the original inhabitants enjoyed boasting to the newcomers of their descent from the first settlers. Since any group forced to abandon their own homes naturally moved to those of relatives, there is no difficulty in understanding the process by [538] which they continued to intermarry with their new neighbours. Thus two, or even more ancestral families, inhabiting one village tended to form a closely inter-related stock. In rare instances, two unrelated ancestral families may have become inhabitants of the same village, which would unquestionably lead to intermarriage.

In most cases the endogamic tendencies already described cause the village community to be largely members of one ancestral family. In addition there are always other occupants; strangers who have fled from their homes and sought [563] refuge among the Bella Coola; the offspring of illicit intercourse [567] with slaves; guests; foreigners, especially Carriers temporarily [554] resident in Bella Coola; and finally slaves, without status in the community. The real inhabitants, those whose power is firmly planted in the village, are the reputed descendants of the first group of settlers, and accordingly a relative coming to [553] dwell in a village usually endeavours to obtain a name from the origin myth of the ancestral family occupying it, and thus

[527] friends, a further cause for their preferential treatment. A Bella Coola who had been ordered and renamed had to undergo a cleansing ceremony to remove the taint of slavery [173] before he could take part in the ceremonies of the community. [103] It was impossible to learn the details of this rite.

[230] A master had complete power over a slave, unaffected by the force of public opinion, since the affairs of a slave, being without relatives, were of no consequence to anyone. Accordingly, the lot of a slave depended on the character of his master, and on his own ability and industry. An industrious slave was valued; such as one would not be unkind or cruel enough through dire necessity, and in course of years he became, so far as actual treatment was concerned, one of the [424] family. Many masters gave their slaves *feasts* [1] slaves pre-[49] gressives, expending large sums for the purpose. In such a case the slave might become an influential member of the community, though the fact that he was not free was never forgotten. On the other hand, a master had not the slightest compunction about beating a lazy slave, and could kill him if he so desired. None of the present Bella Coola has heard of such a case; it was considered more sensible to sell or give away an unsatisfactory slave. It was accepted as a matter of course that a master should provide his slaves with food and clothing, since everything produced or obtained by one belonged to him. A slave-owner had full rights to his female slaves, [537] and unquestionably exercised them. The only restraints were the jealousy of his own wife, or wives, and the feeling that it was undignified for a free man to demean himself. It was impossible to learn with even approximate accuracy to what extent intercourse took place between masters and slaves. Probably not a great deal, though there was considerable freedom of relations between slave women and the young men of the community, unrestrained by the pride of chieftainship. When a slave had been faithful for a number of years and had [572] became almost a member of the family, his master would try

[1] Actual privileges (I, p. 180) were more rarely given.

to arrange his marriage with some female slave; once this had taken place, the actual treatment meted out to him differed only slightly from that shown to a member of the family. In former times it would probably have been difficult for a stranger to tell married slaves from the members of the Bella Coola community until he had been long enough in the country to understand more than appeared on the surface.

Marriages between Bella Coola men and slave women were not infrequent, while like partnerships between slave men and even the daughters of chiefs were not unknown. In such cases the status of the children depended on the performance of ceremonies to wash from them the stain of their slave blood. While the mother was still pregnant her husband would call guests, not only from his own village, but from foreign tribes as well. Presents were given, according to the wealth of the donor, often aided by his immediate family, to "wash the child." Such ceremonies would be repeated several times before birth, and again at that time. Bella Coola sentiment was that such presents gagged the recipients; they knew of the dishonourable ancestry of the child, but the receipt of gifts on his account had wiped away the disgrace. Such a child was able to inherit prerogatives from his mother's old home, duly exhibited in Bella Coola by relatives, and by his own lavish presents he could silence those who remembered the blot on his ancestry. Similar procedure was carried out if a free woman married a slave. Unless her husband were already owned by one of her family, the woman's father or brother would arrange to purchase him. Then, aided by him, they would give the same type of presents to clear the children from the taint of slavery. If this were not done, the children had only the status of slaves, though, born and brought up in Bella Coola and associating from infancy with their master's children, they were virtually considered members of the family.

"Washing the child," during pregnancy and at birth, sufficed to cover the taint on its history, but in later years if such a person failed to continue to give ceremonies, people would again talk of his slave ancestors. So, too, for the child or grand-

#534 headwards and towns, were so angry at the treachery that they decided to raid Green Bay. *Hákú*'s friend, however, heard of this plan and told his comrade. "All right," replied *Hákú*, "if they dare to do so I will show them my power. Of course you will have to accompany them, but when the attack is launched step a short distance to one side. You will not be hurt."

Hákú now determined to return home. But the raiders, who were assembling at *Kitas*, a point on the south side of North Bentinck Arm about a quarter mile from the head, had taken all the canoes, so the best *Hákú*'s friend could obtain for him was the broken bow of a river canoe. In this frail craft he reached *Awacq*, on the north side of North Bentinck Arm about one mile from the head, without difficulty, and there he took on the form of a black bear once more. In this guise he travelled so rapidly that he reached Green Bay long before the raiders.

Once more in human form, *Hákú* said to his parents, "A Bella Coola war-party is on its way to attack us, because they are angry at the way I have protected their women. Stay inside the house, and all will be well."

Before long the hostile canoes appeared in close formation near the beach. *Hákú* had dressed his bear blanket, over which he had strewed a large quantity of eagle down. He now shook himself. As Black Bear had promised, the down flew in all directions and those of the enemy on whom it lighted fell helpless to the bottom of their canoes, their arms, legs, heads, or bodies swollen beyond recognition. After a time *Hákú* called back the down, thus curing his victims. As he did so he told his father's herald to call out to the attackers that they must never again try to raid Green Bay. In spite of their discomfiture many of the Bella Coola rashly landed to press the assault, but *Hákú* climbed on to the roof of the house, from which point he struck them down with the death-dealing end of his bow. When the abortive attack had ended with the death of all those who had landed, *Hákú*'s sister came to shore and requested him to restore his relatives to life. The two walked among the corpses, the friend pointing out his relations, whom *Hákú* revived with the life-giving end of his bow. Each of these brought back to life begged for a friend, which *Hákú* granted, until finally he had restored all those whom he had slain.

In their gratitude many of the Bella Coola besought *Hákú* to accept their daughters as wives. He took only one wife, but by this marriage friendly relations were established between Green Bay and Bella Coola, [582] and ever since that time the people of the two places have intermarried and been on the best of terms.

[illegible] 535*

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the people of Kinnapit and the Dease River, and ever since then intermarriages have been common.

[illegible]

Soon after the first people had reached this earth, *Agyunim* found that as they increased, they might quarrel about land issues. It would be well down to *Stead'ai*, on the Dease River thirty-five miles from the sea, three brothers, *Agyunim*, [illegible], and *Lakkwan*, a name in most cases used by women, with their sister *Iyaqle'it*. He gave the eldest brother instructions to divide the land among the different villages. *Agyunim* came in the guise of a mountain goat, but promptly cast his animal cloak back to the land above, before moving downstream. To the inhabitants of each area he allotted certain valleys in the vicinity to serve as hunting-grounds, and told the people that these, and only these, were to be theirs forever. After reaching the coast, he travelled down Dease Inlet as far as the Bella Bella country, likewise allotting land to the different settlements, and marking each boundary with a stick. After finishing his task, *Agyunim* returned up the Dease River to his brothers. The three built a weir that spanned the river, and in it they caught so many small-head salmon that the Carriers used to come from great distances to buy from them. *Iyaqle'it* was married to a chief living on the lower part of the river, and her brothers, too, came below for their wives. *Agyunim* ultimately moved to *Nanqlâs*, on the east side of the Dease River, twenty-five miles from the sea.

[illegible] had come from above in the form of a deer. After taking off this cloak, he reformed it as an animal, which became the ancestor of all the deer near Kinnapit. They did not like *Stead'ai*, where it was very cold, so they moved to *Nikwâk*, on Dease Inlet, about three miles below Kinnapit, and there built their town. Unfortunately, the snowfall was so heavy that they had much trouble in lighting their fires; sometimes as much as ten feet of snow fell in a single night.

"Please, *Sâkkwan*," said the deer, "don't keep falling on us."

In the language of men, *snow* is *kai*, and *Sâkkwan* means, "Copper Ore," but the language of deer is quite different. The snow, unmoved by their appeals, continued to fall, until at last the deer held a meeting and resolved to move away to the outer coast near Bella Bella, and never return again. They carried out this plan, and it is only within the last few years that some have come back, although for centuries some lived near Kinnapit.

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*Related by Jim Pollard.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

to find the design of a shield painted on the back wall. On several occasions from all parts of the coast, and relatives, by valuable presents to them, a new name which he had chosen for himself, Nyaqueenilaw, "The Object for Counting Salmon." This name was applicable because his home was built on the west bank of the Klamath River at a good place for catching salmon.

Omaha went west to the land of the Yurok Indians, a branch of the Carrizo living northeast of Klamath, where he married Wi-ne-, the daughter of a chief. From her he received the right to use a design of coast whistle that imitated the voice of a deer.* Soon after his return with his bride, Omaha called guests from far and near to another potlatch, at which he validated the name aforementioned, "The Circle." He chose this with reference to his first travels when making a suitable choice to settle. He said his own discretion in selecting the name.

Above this time Omaha married yet another woman, daughter of a Chetco River chief. These marriages so increased his wealth and fame that he was able to give numerous potlatches and validate several names which he chose for himself from incidents that had happened to him since reaching this world. Among these designations were:

Sulaklaklo: a coast name meaning "Sun." It was this in consequence of his transformation to the sun when first traveling around the world. At one potlatch he performed a round dance with respect to this name.

Lapilaxmalo: a chief's name which he took when he gave away valuable presents. It means "The Going Around," and refers again to his circuit of the world.

Pungalikaulaxa: a chief's name of which the significance has long been forgotten.

Algaxalaxa: a chief's name which he validated by valuable presents. It means "The Shelterer," a reference to the manner in which he sheltered his seven brother beneath his eagle wings when he first came to earth.

Ongamilaka, who lacked his brother's power and ability, was unable to marry one with only Swalkwalk, the sister of Stalkila. Ever since that time there have been intermarriages between the people of the Klamath [582] and the Chetco rivers, as if this first marriage had "Opened the Way."

After some time, though whether before or after his fourth marriage is not known, Sulaklaklo bore Swanee a son, and within a few years he had a large family. Owing to his great wealth he was able to give numerous

*It was impossible to learn details of this whistle, since the man who was recounting this myth had never used it himself, and consequently was unwilling to tell the form.

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At this juncture canoes saw a party of strangers, and wondered who they might be as they entered the river. There was great rejoicing when the two brothers told their parents who they were, for they had been so transformed that they were unrecognizable. As the time had come, *Lâlaxsmâ-a*'s three beautiful sisters came rushing up, eager to have him take them South, but he paid no attention to them. He welcomed only the ugly one, who had mourned for him, and massaged her until she became the most beauty of all. 539 P

Smaaun, delighted at the safe return of his sons, and proud of *Lâlaxsmâ-a*'s beautiful children, sent invitations far and near to a great potlatch. At this ceremony he validated, with many presents, a seat in the house for *Lâlaxsmâ-a*. The name thus conferred was *Ligâwâldi*, "The First Born," a name given to *Lâlaxsmâ-a* by *Kaqutîlqa*. *Smaaun* also took this opportunity to confer names on his numerous grandchildren. After sojourning for some time in Kimsquit, the Kitlobe people returned home, richly laden with gifts.

In the course of time *Wîxumkîlâ* bore her husband two more children. *Smaaun* continued to prosper and to give potlatches, at one of which he gave one of his grandchildren the name *Sâlâxsaq*, "Chief." This designation at once became honourable on account of the goods expended. *Lâlaxsmâ-a* did not wish to forget his Kitlobe friends, so in time he sent two of his children to live there. One of them was *Sâlâxsaq*, a name that has ever since remained there. Thus friendly relations between Kimsquit and Kitlobe, first opened by *Lâlaxsmâ-a*, have been maintained. There have been many marriages between people of these two areas, each knows of *Lâlaxsmâ-a*, and it was only about one hundred and fifty years ago that a Kimsquit woman, *Âxqutîl* by name, was married to a Kitlobe man to repay the original marriage of *Wîxumkîlâ*. [548] [582]

When *Smaaun* became old he gave yet another potlatch at which he took for himself the name *Lâlaxsmâ-a*, "The Scatterer." He created this from his own fertile imagination, with reference to the way in which he scattered eagle down when first travelling to the north in eagle form. It has since been used by his descendants when old. [551]

The descendants of *Smaaun* enjoy not only the prerogative of using this myth and the names included in it, but other privileges connected with it. If one of them gives a potlatch he carves the form of a *mâtqas* on the spoons to be used at it, and paints the wall of his house with a whale design. *Omqemkîlâ*'s descendants are more likely than others to receive supernatural good fortune from a *mâtqas*. The descendants of both 539 K 424 [592]

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881 781 434 789 536 bundle of four macaroni-shaped shells, probably *Dentalium*, which are said to have been imported from the north in early times. These marks serve to indicate the position of the girl, who is both feared and respected, possessed of supernatural power, and yet baneful. Many Bella Coola stories describe how adolescent girls have been able to vanquish supernatural beings; perhaps the most striking of these is the manner in which they once saved mankind when the sun came too close to the earth. At the end of a year, or eleven months according to one old woman, the seclusion is terminated, and the girl resumes her normal activities. The first time she goes to the river she must throw on the water four pieces of dyed, and four pieces of undyed cedar-bark. This is especially important if the salmon are running at the time, although no explanation of this ritual is given.

582 556 882 The resumption of her freedom indicates that a girl has reached marriageable age. Chiefs sometimes confine their daughters for even longer than a year, and usually delay their marriages for several years to demonstrate their importance; but this is not necessary, nor is it practised by other than wealthy individuals. It is not uncommon for a girl to wed before her year is out; in that case her restrictions automatically [554] lapse. Chiefs never allow such a curtailment for their daughters; to do so would diminish the prestige of the latter, and be detrimental to the status of their children when they marry and have families. 836 883 [881] Illicit intercourse with a secluded adolescent is considered not only illegal but disgusting as well. Between the period of confinement and marriage, intercourse is prohibited and guarded against by the parents of a girl, but is not considered filthy and seems to have been fairly common in former times with the daughters of poor people and slaves. This sometimes took place before the first menstruation in spite of the disapproval with which this was regarded.

826 841 789 Although the menstrual blood which appears at the first discharge is considered more baneful than that emitted on later occasions, it is always regarded as uncanny or unclean. It is

581 Confidently believing that he has descended from ancestors
[581] who came to this earth in the beginning of time, a Bella Coola wishes to have his children firmly established in the path of his forbears. This can be accomplished only with the aid of a suitable mother. It follows that marriage is not primarily a matter of affection, but of the ascertained eligibility of the contracting parties.

CHOICE OF MATE

564 Since the initiation for marriage is taken by the men in
581 almost all cases, it will be convenient and proper to describe the factors which enter into the search for a wife, remembering that the converse governs the decision of the woman and her relatives. The choice of the woman who is to be the mother of the children who will carry on the traditions of the ancestral family is a matter of too great importance to be entrusted to any young person. Accordingly, while their son is yet a child, his parents often discuss who would be a suitable wife for him. They view the matter from a strictly business standpoint.
581 Proud of their own ancient lineage, they would not demean themselves by allowing their son to marry a girl who could not trace her ancestry back to the first people, or with one whose forbears had disgraced themselves by marriage with slaves. Instead, it is a matter of pride for parents to have as daughter-in-law the child of a powerful chief. Nor can they choose a
582 woman too closely related to their son. Marriage with a sister, an aunt, a niece, or any first cousin is strictly prohibited. No reason for these laws could be obtained; the Bella Coola consider that it would be "indecent" or unclean so to marry, but have theorized no further about the matter. An adopted child is regarded in the same light as an own child. The Bella Coola know, and are amused by, the regulation of marriage according to crests among the northern tribes, but practise nothing of the same nature themselves. In fact, marriages usually take place among those who are descended from one ancestor and who have, accordingly, the same crest, though the significance
[597] [529] [171]

of the sons is very different from its use among the northern tribes.

Having christened those girls who are too closely related, or who are unsuited on account of the poverty of their parents, the father and mother can concentrate on others of about the same age as their son. The most desirable is a member of the ancestral family of one of the parents. This obviates the dangers and difficulties of marriage with a stranger, and any children will be born into the close-knit circle of related ancestors stretching back to the beginning of time. They consider that such a child is fortunate, as if he were held close in the spiritual embrace of his powerful forefathers of antiquity. Each ancestral family is jealously proud of its ancient traditions and prerogatives, and as some of these are transmitted at marriage, it follows that a mating within its ranks is desirable from a business standpoint. Moreover, it is recognized that the husband obtains more presents than the wife at the wedding and that her relatives are more likely to be generous when their son-in-law is one to whom they are related. Indeed, some ancestral families are so "stingy," (to use the Bella Coola expression), that for generations they have habitually married endogamously. In such cases it is not unknown for the children of first cousins to mate, though this is usually regarded as not quite proper. The most common marriages are between the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of first cousins, or between the child and grandchild of a first cousin when of suitable age. According to mythology, unions have sometimes taken place between brother and sister in order to preserve the traditions within the family, and it appears highly probable that marriages have occasionally occurred between first cousins, although no specific instances of this could be learnt. As long as the laws against incest are obeyed, any girl of appropriate age who is addressed as *numas* (I, p. 153) is a fit partner. Since ancestral families have usually become localized in certain villages, there is a strong leaning to local endogamy, though this is not compulsory. The restrictions

581 on marriage are of a bilateral nature, and the preferences are equally bilateral, with a tendency to become patrilineal, in accordance with the patrilineal tendency of the ancestral family as already described.

581 Although these considerations greatly restrict the selection of a suitable daughter-in-law, a number of choices always remain. The parents of the prospective bridegroom consider the material advantages of each of these. Since the ability of a man to give potlatches depends largely on the wealth contributed by his wife's immediate family, wise parents eliminate a girl whose brothers are lazy. Moreover, they know that their son's children will receive prerogatives from their maternal grandparents, hence it is desirable to choose those who have prized facial designs, or other valuable rights. Ancestral names are not so important, because these are the potential property of all members of the ancestral family. A great consideration is the industriousness of the girl herself, though this is of less moment than the working ability of her father and brothers. Marriage was discussed with a very old man who had had four wives. After describing the idiosyncrasies of the four, he continued:

"My last wife was, by far the best. Her family gave me many presents."

583 [581] Frequently the choice of a wife is simplified by an institution which may be termed "return marriage." If, for example, a few generations ago a woman was married into another ancestral family, or into a distant branch of her own, it was considered proper for a man of her family to receive as wife a woman of the family into which she had married. During the previous wedding rites the woman's family bestowed much wealth and valuable prerogatives; it is proper that the latter should be restored to the ancestral family of their owners. A return marriage also binds two families together, with consequent strength to the children. A few examples will make the matter clear.

[illegible] E-9 (1932-1934) 1968
[illegible]

583 at present, though even now it is considered highly desirable.
[178] The sentiment is that already described: the more closely the parents are bound together by ties of common ancestry, the greater will be their children's ceremonial strength. Further, reciprocal alliances of this type obviate all danger of feuds, since return marriages are not required.

582 In recent years it has become fashionable, or socially
178 "smart," with some Bella Coola families to seek wives from
148 unrelated ancestral families, and even from other tribes. It is said that this practice was initiated by *Pudus*, an important chief who died between 1870 and 1880. He sought foreign marriages on account of the prerogatives which were brought as dowers by his wives, and considered that such rights, transmissable to his children, more than compensated for the lack of strength provided by related ancestors. Many have followed his example, with the result that some ancestral families have entirely abandoned the endogamic tendency. Boas (p. 194) has made the same observation. Although this exogamic
[581] principle is directly contrary to that which has already been described, yet it should be noted that each has the same explanation—the search for a wife able to bring most to her as yet unborn children.

584 Should the parents consider a foreign woman as wife for
581 their son, then her worth is discussed from every angle. One woman may have the right to good hunting grounds, the family of another may have some valuable *nusuk* prerogatives, a third some *kusiut* rites. Anxious thought is put on the relative values of these. One man had heard of the French system of *dot*, and emphasized strongly how far superior to, and more sensible it was than the Canadian practice. In recent years
[178] the younger Bella Coola have been arranging their own marriages, and the older men lament bitterly that they are influenced only by the beauty and working ability of the girl, not by her real worth, the prerogatives which she can bring to her children.

Although parents consider chiefly the ancestry of their

[illegible] Dowrath E-5 (1922-1924)/948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

future daughter-in-law, yet they are not entirely oblivious to the girl herself. She must be of about the same age as their son, preferably a year or two older. Should the wife be the younger, it is thought that she ages rapidly until she appears as old as her husband. Boys usually marry at seventeen or eighteen, and it is essential that the woman chosen for wife must have been concealed for at least a year following puberty. Nor is a weakly girl chosen, or one of notoriously bad temper. As their son reaches the age of marriage, his parents usually consult him, though it is not usual for him to gainsay their wishes. A girl who has been leading a notoriously lax life is not desired, though this is most unusual for the daughter of a chief. The feeling is that such a girl would be a faithless and fickle wife, rather than any objection to her sins as such.

Realising the importance of marriage, the parents of a boy discuss and plan the event for years, weighing the relative value of girls whom they think they could obtain for their son. By the time he has reached the age of fourteen or fifteen, they have decided on the most suitable partner, and it then becomes necessary to consult her parents and win their approval.

PERIOD OF ENGAGEMENT

When the parents of the young man (whom it will be convenient to term X) have at last decided on a suitable partner, they next choose an intermediary for the first proposal. In all these discussions the elderly relatives of the parents take a leading part, and especially their own parents if alive. Sometimes X's father himself interviews the father of the girl (here termed Y), at other times he asks some friend to do so. The matter is not supposed to be generally known, and the intermediary goes to Y's father's house, and quietly tells her parents that X's family would like their daughter to become X's wife. This preliminary asking is done unostentatiously, at any time and in any place, and the messenger withdraws after giving his message. In all probability Y's family have already re-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

595 two, but only one of great importance could hope to aspire to
556 more, while the case of *Patlu* was considered to be unique and highly desirable.

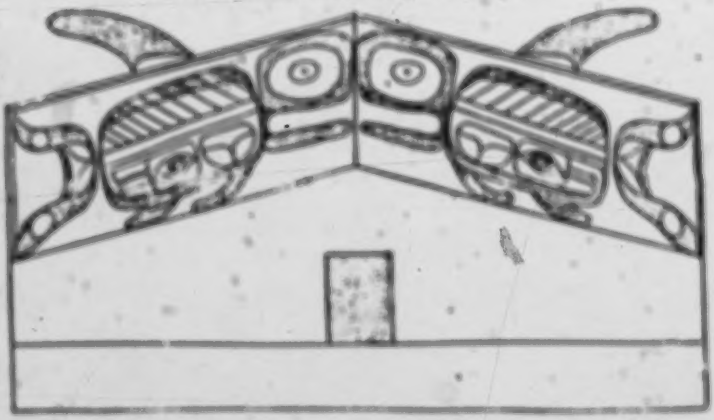
595 A chief's wives always lived in the same house, and it is
578 said that disputes were frequent. *Patlu* endeavoured to prevent jealousy by providing each woman with a special bedroom and sleeping for a single night with each in order. One informant had two wives when a young man, and he found that the only way to avoid constant bickering was by sleeping in one bed, between them. The evidence seems clear that plurality of wives was usually the cause of considerable friction, though this never deterred a man from taking a second wife if he could. The only special rule of incest in
[835 this regard was that two sisters could not be married at the
582] same time.

595 In answer to questions about polyandry, two men told of
183 a licentious woman who had two feeble-minded husbands
626 between whom she used to sleep. The whole affair was considered disgusting, but public opinion did not ostracize the offenders since a person's marital affairs were considered to concern the individual only. It was accordingly assumed that
595 the institution of true polyandry did not exist, when, unex-
556 pectedly, information was volunteered about its occurrence in the families of influential men. A very powerful chief, if his only child was a daughter, quite frequently married her simultaneously to the sons of other chiefs. She was thus considered most fortunate, since only a wealthy man could provide for a daughter in this way, and expend the large quantities of goods necessary to ensure her proper marriage in each case. The husbands were never brothers, and seldom related, since the ambitious parent wished to ally his daughter with different ancestral families for the benefit of any resultant children. The joint wife was accustomed to live for a number of months in the home of one of her husbands, with her other husbands forming part of his household. She would then move to the house of another, who assumed the leadership of the group,

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

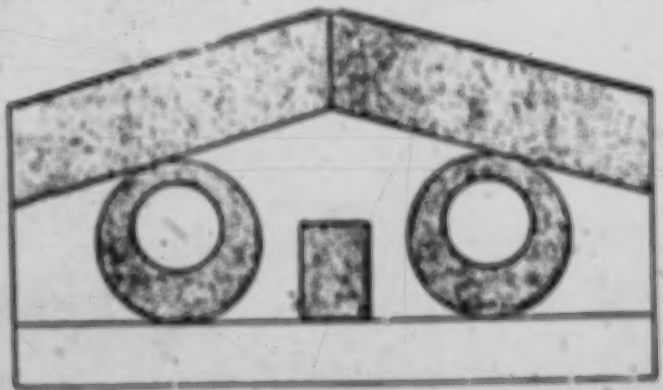
614 The evidence which I can present regarding the laws of intermarriage
●582 is the following: I inquired of Nuxk'alo'xtin (would water in bow), a
[551] member of the Isk'ainmōt gens, whether he might marry a Spaxt'ūl
woman; this suggestion he rejected with the greatest indignation.

FIG. 1.—House-front of the gens Tsk-wā'ix.



Members of the first two gentes, he explained later on, are not allowed to intermarry, neither are members of the last two gentes, while the first and second may marry among the third and fourth. He accounted for

FIG. 2.—House-front of the gens Tlak'wana'xit, representing the moon.



this by stating that Isk'ainmōt's are married Spaxt'ūl's daughter, and that consequently the two gentes were related in such other.

614 The gentes have crests similar to those of the neighboring coast

7:Boas B-1 (286-ca.1892)900 NBA Bellacoola NEB

Indians the tradition is considered much more closely the property of the person who has it in charge than it is among the southwestern Indians. A description of the chief's ceremonial has been given by Jacobsen in the paper above referred to.[1]

A clan legend which is illustrated in the chief's ceremonial is called by the Bella Coola "Semoina" or "Sset'yoma." These traditions are the exclusive property of each clan. The laws according to which they descend from generation to generation differ from the laws prevailing among the other Coast tribes. The inhabitants of each Bella Coola village are not subdivided into clans, gentes, or septs; but each village community forms a unit, and possesses the same tradition. In order to keep the tradition in the tribe, the law requires that no person shall marry outside of his own village community. Thus the clan tradition is kept the exclusive property of the village community by means of endogamy. I have made very careful inquiries in regard to this point, and all the old men make substantially the same statement. Even marriages among near relatives are permitted;[2] and although marriages of people who are distantly related, or not related at all, are preferred, it even happens that cousins marry, or that an uncle marries his niece, in order to keep the clan tradition from being acquired by another village community. It seems, however, that, owing to the influence of the Coast tribes, the endogamic system has begun to give way to an exogamic system. Powerful and wealthy chiefs marry outside of their own village community, in order to secure an additional clan legend through marriage. This new system agrees with the one prevalent among the Kwakiutl tribes.

The hi'ilut, as stated before, is a religious ceremony in which all the deities of heaven are personified. The members of various clans are initiated according to their clan traditions; but the same societies and the same deities appear in the traditions of all the various clans. From what little I have been able to learn, it seems that there is an elaborate opening of the whole ceremonial, corresponding to the opening of the ceremonial among the Kwakiutl.[3] I received the following description of the opening ceremonial:—

The person who invites to the hi'ilut, that is to say, the man whose son is to be initiated into one of the secret societies according to the tradition of his clan, requests a person who is called E'ulen to invite the nine brothers and their sister, who reside in the House of Hyäs, and in whose charge the hi'ilut is placed. The names of the brothers are Xtsuxtsemā'ts!a, Xi'nmitsen, Qaaq'umā'ts!a, Q!ō'ustsen, Alemā'ts!a, Ai'umā'ts!a, K!ō'lbas, Q!ulmā'ts!a, Ai'umā'; and that of their sister, Ltsūi'qaiyaxaa (see p. 33). In the rear of the house an elevated room is prepared for E'ulen, to which he has down. He is covered with rings made of red cedar-bark. For four days he stays

[1] Op. cit., p. 1-6.

[2] I have described this fully in the Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, in print.

follow either father or mother, but that it had not the right to use the property of both parents. It seems to my mind that the former method was more likely to develop under the existing social conditions, and that to this reason we must ascribe the development of an endogamic system among the Bella Coola. The occurrence of endogamic marriage among this tribe is quite isolated on the Pacific coast. All the other tribes have exogamic institutions, and by this means preserve their property rights. It is interesting to note that the southern Kwakiutl, who originally seem to have been organized in village communities, have adopted exogamic institutions; but there is a notable difference in the organization of the village community, between the Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl. Among the Bella Coola we generally find four ancestors to each village,—usually three men and one woman. It is true that these are generally called brothers and sister, but they were created independently by fancy, and are therefore not necessarily considered as blood relations. Among the Kwakiutl the village community are considered the descendants of one single being; consequently, among the latter tribe they are all relatives, who are forbidden to intermarry; while among the Bella Coola they are not relatives, and may intermarry.

My interest is, therefore, that the curious social system of the Bella Coola developed through the influence of the customs of the Coast tribes upon the loose social unit of the Salish village community. The possession of clan traditions was felt as a great advantage, and consequently the desire developed to possess clan traditions. These were acquired partly by intermarriage with the Coast tribes, as is shown by the fact that many of these traditions are borrowed from these tribes, partly by independent invention. The desire to guard the traditions which were once acquired led to the development of endogamic institutions, in order to prevent the spread of the traditions over the whole tribe.

The jealousy with which the traditions are guarded has had the effect of making each family try to prevent other families from knowing its own clan traditions. For this reason the clan traditions of the whole tribe are remarkably inconsistent. We find, for instance, that the well-known raven legend of the northern Coast tribes has been utilized by many families as a family tradition. But while one family owns one part of the tradition, other families own other parts of the same tradition. Thus it happens that among the Bella Coola we find the most contradictory myths in regard to important events in the world's history. Some families maintain that the Raven liberated the sun, while, according to another one, the Mink was essential in bringing about the present state of affairs. Still others say that Tsimsi'an, during his travels, caused the sun to appear. The discrepancies in the traditions referring to the visit of the Mink and Wren to their father, the Sun, are also very remarkable. Although a considerable amount of